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THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

A LESSON IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

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FROM whatever point of view the heritage of the late Spanish-American war is regarded, one fact is evident and undeniable. The government of the United States has become guardian and tutor to a great number of semi-civilized and barbarous people. Whether as positively incorporated citizens of the republic, or as wards to be led to independent self-government, these peoples must be shown the way of knowledge and of truth. The latest and best systems of government must be taught them, and taught them, moreover, in the most approved and practicable manner. For even if, after the traditional fate of such declarations, we do not hold ourselves strictly to the letter of our *ante-bellum* declarations of disinterestedness, we must at least be true to the spirit of humanitarianism which inspired them. In no case can we carry on our tuition by the sword once order is restored and our prestige firmly established. This brings us to a peculiarly recent development in the history of colonies or dependencies. For while the world has long been acquainted with conquest and subjugation, it has witnessed very few attempts at the elevation of dependent races to a plane of self-government. The uniform tendency has been to compel them into lower depths of helplessness and surer servitude. Such dominion has for the most part not hesitated to deprive them of whatever civil rights they formerly had, but to demand material tribute as well, adding a burden of poverty to that of slavery. If we seek the guiding light of modern experience, we shall find few instances of assumed sovereignty which had not for an end subjugation or extinction and colonization.

The position of the British government in Egypt furnishes almost a unique example of that manner of occupation and beneficent guardianship which seems the logical end of our present situation. In both cases intervention, long postponed, becomes inevitable. In both cases humanitarian avowals, made at the time of in-

tervention, were scoffed at and ridiculed. But there are few instances in history where such declarations have been so faithfully fulfilled in spirit, if not in letter, as in Egypt. It is of course the fashion in certain quarters of the Continent to recall the British promise of speedy evacuation, and to insist upon its belated fulfilment. But that is international politics pure and simple. No impartial investigator can fail to see how truly the greater power has raised the lesser in every manner of political and material welfare—a progress so vast and so astounding as to sweep at once aside all petty contentions as to the length of time during which this tuition must be backed by force, or the exact political position occupied by the tutors. Moreover, questions as to how the English came into Egypt, what position they occupy there, and how long they are to remain are matters not connected with the experience from which we are to profit. There is an Egyptian side to the controversy. It has frequently been presented to the world with all its strength. But with it and its endless international ramifications there is no need for this paper to deal. The results of British occupation are too plainly seen and too vast to be minimized by opposition criticism. How they were secured and how they are maintained are the interesting subjects. For as many as have been the mistakes of the occupation—and a constant reiteration of the promise of evacuation as well as the repeated shirking of an avowed protectorate are not the least prominent—there are yet such methods of administration to be observed there as certainly contemporary history nowhere else furnishes. We would naturally turn to the experience of the mother-country even were she not the most successful governor in the world. But not in India, where she is avowed mistress, nor in the South Seas, where she colonizes, does she furnish the example we seek. It is in the old, old land of the Pharaohs that she has taken up a new, an unprecedented position

of "adviser," where her failures and her triumphs have that to tell which will aid us in the heavy burden to which we have fallen heir. This Egyptian business, to quote Sir Alfred Milner, "the most absurd experiment in human government has been productive of one of the most remarkable harvests of human improvement." To write of it briefly and practically is most difficult. Short as it is, it is such a fine story, so full of color and stirring situations, so full of paradox and mystery, that one is tempted always from the straight way of fact and experience into many highly colored bypaths.

Upon starting out in this investigation it is consoling to know that neither in the West Indies nor in the Philippines are we confronted with such disheartening complications as those with which England in Egypt has had to deal. In the first place, there are no international complications to embarrass the home government elsewhere as a consequence of our action in the Spanish provinces. While there are financial difficulties to be overcome, they are nothing to compare with the mountain of debt which Khedive Ismail piled upon the backs of the poor fellaheen. We are free, too, from all the difficulties of Moslem fanaticism. For the rule of Islam brought with it not only all of the sullen opposition to innovation for which it is noted, but also the immense burden of the Turkish capitulations, which, in protecting the large body of foreigners in Egypt from the government of the Khedive, alike relieved them of all responsibility therein or liability thereto. Then, again, we may begin with no hesitating declaration of protection. Whatever may be promised these peoples in the future, for the present it seems well understood that they are to be under our care both to direct and to defend. We will undoubtedly, for one end or another, seek to govern them through themselves; and to gain their co-operation through all the inevitable time of hostility and opposition will be our chief end. In the face of every manner of embarrassing and nagging obstruction, both on the part of the natives and two or three Continental powers, and only with that dogged determination for which the race is famous, this is what the English have accomplished in the valley of the Nile. In spite of himself they have led the Egyptian to a higher form of government

than would ever have been possible without them, or than could possibly be continued at this time without their strong advice well backed up. There are too many evidences of his material advancement for all his protests to conceal. The whole book of how it has been done is spread open for us to read. Of methods we cannot fail. Our greatest need is perhaps in men, not necessarily men of aptness and intelligence, for no nation is richer in them than we are; the need will be in men drawn from a trained government service, for in such work experience is more valuable than intuition. In this class of men the story of the British influence in Egypt has been particularly rich.

Looking at the subject from a general stand-point, the chief value of the Egyptian experience will be to mark out a line of more or less paternal government with which our people are but little acquainted. We are so used to see all reforms, originating with the people, accomplished with their consent and assistance, that the fact of having to apply all measures directly from above will of itself furnish much embarrassment. Yet few will maintain that any of these new wards of the nation are now capable of that kind of self-government to which alone we would be justified in leaving them.

Another general moral to be gathered from experience with the Khedivial principality is that the best results have been obtained when it was possible to graft new methods on old customs. Instead of overturning in wholesale fashion all the local institutions under which the common people have lived for generations, it has been a very successful policy on the part of Lord Cromer and his associates to encourage and enliven them into instruments of usefulness. In this way the old head sheiks of villages, called Omdehs, have in many cases been made desirable members of the new order of things; village schools have been given small government grants if they would adopt certain simple but modern additions to their line of instruction; the old system of local watchmen (ghaffirs) has been reorganized and made useful; in fact, in every line of work where it was possible the old has been taught to serve with the new. While this is a policy of common-sense instead of theory, it promises better results than more perfect plans. In

adapting themselves to a situation rather than in experimenting upon theories, is to be found the primary factor in the good work done by Englishmen in Cairo.

There is also a wise precaution which it will perhaps be difficult for Americans to follow in the restrictions which have been placed upon representative government in Egypt. We will be very apt to make early experiments in the bestowal of one form or another of autonomy. There may be some room for argument as to how far the Cubans and Puerto-Ricans are able to go in the management of their affairs. But in the Philippines it would seem for some time out of the question to bestow any form of national representation. And this even with the best of intentions to grant full independence as soon as possible.

In these farthest dependencies it is now very evident that a show of force will be necessary in maintaining any kind of public tranquillity. In fact, it is probable that in all of these islands at least a sign of the military power of their guardian will be most effectual in compelling public attention to those matters which most concern general and individual prosperity. All authorities upon the Egyptian question agree that the small army of occupation maintained there by the English is valuable not for its actual strength, but as a symbol of the power behind it. And those who seem to know the subject best maintain that if this small force were withdrawn, the whole face of the situation would change. To an unprejudiced mind it must be evident that, left to themselves, the Egyptians might soon return to the hopeless condition of affairs from which their Anglo-Saxon benefactors rescued them. In fact, one young American with whom I have talked, and who, after five years' residence in Cairo, is thoroughly conversant with the case, believes that it would be a question not of years, but of months only, when the native government would turn its back upon all the system from which the people have gained such undeniable benefit.

And in this work of beneficent patronage nothing seems so necessary as public tranquillity. Among the excitable people with whom we have to deal there will perhaps be a greater necessity for compelling a quiet public mind than

there has been in Egypt. The chief purpose of this tranquillity is to concentrate popular attention upon matters of material improvement, especially those which most nearly affect the peasant classes. In thus raising them from distressing poverty is the surest method of gaining their good-will. If the Briton has a best friend in Egypt to-day, it is the fellah, to whom has been brought all manner of blessings. First, and most important, he is assured his just share of the ever-necessary water of the Nile for irrigation, and allowed a quantity which under old methods was not to be hoped for. He is also promised a greater and surer supply in the future as a direct result of British engineering and capital. Next, his great burden of taxation has been cut in half, and is collected regularly and justly. He has been freed from enforced labor upon public works (the *corvée*), from which he has suffered since before the pyramids were built, and which used to deprive him of half his time. He has been freed from the lash (*kurbash*), which in the old days was the most frequent instrument of justice, and from all kinds of horrible torture, which forms the most common Oriental method of prosecuting legal investigations. He has been given a larger measure of education, of police protection, and of sanitation than he could ever have hoped for without assistance beyond the power of the native government. And dull as he seems to be, and as little as he seems to know or care about who is his governor, he would be lower than a dumb brute not to realize his bettered condition, and much less grateful if he did not, secretly at least, thank his benefactors. Another general lesson has been learned in this task of regenerating Egypt. The work of reform must be taken up in every branch of the government as soon as possible. Sad experience has made it plain to the English advisers at Cairo that, whenever through lack of time or means they left certain administrations in the hands of even the best-intentioned natives, sooner or later they have been forced to take the whole system over, and often to undo evils grown up since their own time. The several systems of justice, including the police, which have been instituted and abolished since the time of the British occupation, have only delayed and embarrassed the estab-

lishment of the ultimate scheme which the foreigners had to devise and inaugurate.

And all of these applications of modern ideas must be most carefully adapted to existing conditions, including the temper and habits of the people. No greater danger lies in the way than the reckless application of our methods to a people so little resembling us. This of course includes schemes as general as national representation and as local as the freedom of the press and trial by jury. In fact, there easily come to mind many other subjects fit for the most measured caution.

The choosing of proper men to do the work is most important. As was said above, we have no great school like India, nor permanent trained force at home, from which to draw. Yet if we have any hope of building up a self-respecting native civil service, how can we set any but the best of examples? And if as a result of all this work we should secure a higher grade of public service at home as well as abroad, there could come to us, for our efforts, no greater reward.

There is a marked feature of the fine body of Englishmen and foreigners generally in the work in Egypt. And it is one of especial interest to those who hope to see entrance to what, for want of a better name, may be called our colonial service based upon a system of appointment and advancement by merit alone. One of the most frequent arguments made by American advocates of partisan public service, when the benefits of the British civil service are advanced, is that while the service may be admitted excellent, entrance to it is by favor alone. Therefore, they say, positions are monopolized by the sons of the rich and great, by what the French call "sons of family." Nowhere have Englishmen better proved their fitness for governing than at Cairo, and nowhere have the sons of great men or the bearers of great names been so conspicuously absent. The majority of the men who have made the Egypt of to-day have at the same time made themselves. By this it is not meant that they have risen from the lowest ranks of society, what are generally known as self-made men. It is the good fortune or rather the legitimate result of the system and the rewards which it offers that the best class of Englishmen enter the government service. They

must be men of good standing and good education.

The most fitting example is furnished in Lord Cromer, whose very name is now synonymous with things Egyptian. It is equally difficult to write of Egypt without mentioning his name, and once it is mentioned, to withhold the fullest measure of admiration and praise for the record he has made. He began life as a younger and by no means wealthy member of the financial house of Baring. Family influence probably secured for him a nomination to be examined for the army, just as such nominations are given to young Americans. But it was his capability and excellent record which secured for Major Evelyn Baring, after the fall of Ismail Pacha, appointment as one of the members of the dual control established over Egypt by England and France. Except for an absence of three years (1880-1882) as financial member of the Council of India, he has been in Cairo ever since. To write of what he has done is but to write a history of the occupation, for he has been its corner-stone. And to-day he is undoubtedly the greatest member of his family, where twenty years ago he was probably the most obscure.

Practically the same story might be told of the other names so closely associated with the history of the Nile Valley since 1882. The first three names were Baring as administrator, Edgar Vincent as financier, and Colin Scott-Moncrieff as director of public works. Undoubtedly the greatest difficulty in Egypt was the regeneration of the completely prostrated and hopelessly entangled finances of the country. Although very successful men have followed him in the work, it was Vincent's bitterly opposed policy of economy and just expenditure which made the present marvellous results possible. He came also from the army, was appointed in 1883, twenty-six years old, and left Egypt ten years later one of the best-known financiers in Europe. Next to need of money with which to run the government, need of water to cultivate the land was most pressing. And the general improvement of the old canals and outlets, as well as the utilization of the great barrage dam for the perfection of the irrigation system in the Delta, is due almost wholly to Colonel (now Sir Colin) Scott-Moncrieff.

The same requirement of individual fitness which so successfully began the work is upheld to-day. Fortunately for the home government, Lord Cromer remains, in spite of a frequently expressed wish to retire. Sir William Garstin, the latest successor of Scott-Moncrieff, who has ably carried on the administration, and whose career will probably find its summit in supervision of the construction of the great irrigation reservoir begun at Assuan, has risen step by step along the ladder of successful engineering. Sir Edgar Vincent's old place of financial adviser, next to Lord Cromer's the most important in Egypt, is now held by Mr. John Gorst. It is true that he is the son of a well-known member of Parliament, but if Mr. Gorst had depended on family influence alone, he would probably be now but a secretary in the diplomatic service, rather than the most important official in the Egyptian government. This list might be continued indefinitely for the benefit and encouragement of those young Americans who are to make great names in the work before us. But it is useless, for nowhere can the merit system of office-holding find more continuous exemplification or better defence than in the records of the occupation. Would that some equally strong argument could be advanced to show why ample recompense and prompt reward should always be given as freely as by the British at Cairo. For there is no surer secret as to how this eminently successful corps of administrators has been obtained.

Let us look briefly at the different branches of this government within a government. Of the higher executive system there is little to be learned, as, fortunately for us, we have no native rulers to lead and appease, and can in higher matters of administration use our own methods without restriction. Neither, therefore, is it necessary to detail the intricate way in which the unavowed protectorate imposes its views upon the dependent ruler.

The legislative branch shows a system of national representation which furnishes an example of what may go far towards satisfying early demands for franchise and local legislatures. There are two divisions of the Egyptian parliament, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly. These were created in 1883 under the direction of Lord Dufferin. The

Council is composed of thirty members, fourteen of whom, including the President, are appointed by the government. To it, on the occasion of its monthly meetings, are submitted the Budget and all proposed administrative laws. It amends these as it sees fit. The government, however, need not accept the amendments, but is required to give in writing to the Assembly full reasons for such rejections. Neither the Council nor the Assembly can originate legislation. The General Assembly is the Council augmented by the six members of the Khedive's cabinet and forty-six members popularly elected. It must meet at least once in every two years. It has even less of legislative functions than the Council, for its only method of expression is by resolutions upon any subject of public interest. These resolutions are presented to the government, and if the suggestions are found meritorious, they are framed into law. The Assembly has one important privilege. No new taxes can be imposed without its consent. Thus it is seen that while the people are not trusted with providing plans for their own government, their desires and needs have full expression, and no reasonable demands originating with them are set aside. No doubt, as the government is very careful through its representatives in both bodies to explain fully all proposed measures, many admirable and popular amendments are secured through this restricted representation.

The protecting power has of late years gone further in granting some measure of local self-government. Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, and Mansura have been given municipal incorporation. These cities, by virtue of the large number of foreign residents in them, were considered more apt to succeed, as the foreigners were given full representation in the city councils. A president of the municipality is nominated by the government at Cairo, as well as a chief of police, the latter always an Englishman. After this they manage their own affairs with no further interference, and are more or less successful.

In establishing a judicial system in these dependencies no doubt much of the existing structures, particularly as to small courts, may be used when purified and carefully filled with just magistrates. In Egypt there is so much that is local, so many complications resulting from the

religious Mohammedan courts, the refusal of civilized powers to relinquish their rights of extra-territoriality which the capitulations give, and from which the consular courts and the mixed tribunals result, that little specific guidance is to be had from judicial experience there. In efforts to establish and improve local courts, after some sad experience, it has been learned that in a backward country as many small, single-judge courts and as few appeals as possible serve best. The higher and more intricate benefits of the law, expressed in numerous reviews and appeals, are beyond the requirements of simple people. And when they were first accorded in Egypt, interminable delays and much dissatisfaction resulted. This is but another side of general unfitness for self-government. And as long as a people are not able to originate justice for themselves, just so long will it be necessary to administer it for them with a strong hand and in a more or less summary manner. Also among such peoples a right so fundamental with us as trial by jury is out of the question. Of course such natives can have no idea of equity or the weight of evidence, and are filled, moreover, with all manner of religious and superstitious ideas which would prevent the rendering of just verdicts. The most useful courts are those held by the single district judge who travels about his district, and whose decisions are final in all matters concerning an amount of money at stake usually more than any native dispute is apt to involve. But to relieve the crush on these, the head sheiks (Omdehs) have been made into local magistrates, with power to settle all controversies concerning even a less sum. Above these are courts of the first instance with five judges each, and courts of appeal with eight judges each, both of these numbers subject to augmentation. These higher courts are made up of native and European judges, while the subordinate judges are always natives. What is called at Washington the Department of Justice (really the department of prosecution) is in Egypt treated as part of the judicial system. It is of doubtful desirability, as it has not been very successful. Our national system of marshals and district attorneys seems to furnish a much better example. According to old Oriental customs, the presiding judge always carried on the prosecution of the cases brought

before him, and the police carried on the primary investigation. Replacing this, a system copied after the French was devised. This has a procureur-général, and a large body of under-officials called individually *substituts du procureur-général*, and collectively the *Parquet*. In the prosecution of criminal cases there has been much clashing between the *Parquet* and the local authorities. But the former force is continued in office because it is composed of educated young natives who know the laws of evidence and procedure much better than do local magistrates, and because it is excellent training for a set of young lawyers from whom afterwards the native judges are recruited.

There is a feature of this system which seems very reasonable and beneficial. There is a Commission of Supervision, composed of the chief English official of the Ministry of Justice, the procureur-général, and one of the legal advisers of the government. This commission examines the records of the lower courts. It is not a court of appeals, and does not reverse decisions. But it privately calls the attention of judges to any noticeable errors they have made; and when such errors seem general, a circular on the subject is issued to all the courts concerned. This commission has done excellent work, and has been of great assistance to a very incompetent bench.

In the work done by the various divisions of the executive branch of the government there is much profitable information to be had which can here be but briefly mentioned. While there will be no troublesome foreign affairs for the new governments, finance will occupy a large amount of their attention. If the Egyptian experience in this line offers any primary lesson, it is the profitable reward of expenditures for the public good. The establishment and collection of customs and interior taxation must of course be adapted to each locality. In such countries as those with which we have to deal, public economy is sure to bear directly upon individual welfare in a way difficult for long-established and non-prosperous communities to realize. The happiness, material and moral welfare, of such people depend directly upon the taxation imposed upon them and the benefits afforded. This is of course true everywhere, but general prosperity causes individual wealth to be more or less inde-

pendent of the costs or rewards of government. There has been in Egypt a constant necessity for the clearest of decision between relieving the people of burdens and conferring benefits on them. These poor people with whom we will have to deal can only bear the lightest of taxation, yet how great will be their need for all manner of benefits which only money can buy! Protection, justice, education, and sanitation will all be costly, and the voters of the United States are apt to demand that the dependencies be wholly self-supporting. Taxation, direct and indirect, is always a question of locality. But in the administration of modern financial methods for half-civilized communities the Egyptian experience will show much to those who are intrusted with the work to be done. The early records of the Ministry of Finance in Cairo under Vincent are filled with all manner of economical expedients by which small revenues are made to perform the largest possible service.

So if these peoples are to support themselves, new methods for the collection of just and wisely distributed taxes are to be devised, new systems of money to be introduced, and the great problem of the standard, which has given so much trouble at home, is to be carried over and settled for them. This will be the first and most important administrative work to be done. For the presence of the army will maintain order until local institutions may be depended on to secure it. And the great field for good work in a department of the interior must necessarily wait upon funds for its development.

According to the recent army bill passed by Congress, native troops are to be organized for the relief of our own in the maintenance of law and order. This begins at once the work of a provincial war department. And the experience of the British occupation gives few more noticeable examples of the benefits of the white man's training for native troops. The fellah soldier in the days of Ismail was just about as bad as possible to bear the name at all. He was maltreated, impressed, and discharged indiscriminately; seldom paid, and more seldom pensioned. His name became such a byword for cowardice and incapacity that he grew to believe in his own bad reputation; for when, under Arabi, he arose against the government in 1882, he was as worthless

as when serving it. In the early days of the occupation the mere talk of plans for reconstructing the Egyptian army was a subject for international jesting. And even when it was begun, when British officers led the fellah in the tragic Sudan campaign of 1883-4, he threw down his gun and ran, before the smallest force of the enemy, in spite often of his double and treble strength. He submitted to death rather than fight. The result of training, shown by the record made by Egyptian troops in the Sudan since 1890, is too well known to require specification. For patient, steady, quietly brave service the fellah now has few superiors. He has neither the dash of his black Sudanese comrade nor the intelligent quickness of his associate Tommy Atkins. But he stands his ground like a man against the most recklessly brave enemy known. It is due alone to his long, patient fight with nature, with the desert and the cataract-ribbed Nile, that the Sudan has been regained and the former awful tragedy avenged. How was this seeming miracle accomplished? It seems simple enough when the story is told. Perhaps what cannot be told is the greatest motive power in the whole thing. The confidence and respect, even affection, which the white officer has inspired in his black men may be a large part of the secret of the change. Otherwise only decent methods have been applied, where before brutal indifference and dishonesty prevailed. Pay is regular. Recruiting is regular and for a specified period. There is none of the old snatching away from home and family for no telling how long, to go to no telling what part of the Sudan death-trap. He used to be conscripted in chains, under the lash, or else maimed by his parents to escape the service. Now he comes home happy on leave, with money to spend, and generally enlists again. Discipline is strict, but, on the other hand, authority is kind. The soldier's comfort is looked after, and he is cared for when sick. It is said that the way in which the British officers have risked their lives and undertaken the most loathsome duties to save their men in several cholera epidemics has been a most potent factor in the gratitude and affection they have from their men. In the old days such a thing would have been impossible, for if indifference did not, caste would prevent

the aristocratic officer from attending on his peasant privates. The Egyptian army is wholly in the hands of British officers, and will probably remain so long after the army of occupation is withdrawn. It is due no doubt to confidence in the management of the native soldiers that the force of the visitors has been so reduced. The army of occupation now amounts to only about 3000 men—a mere sign of the power of the protectorate. British soldiers were sent to the assistance of Lord Kitchener's Egyptian army (12,000 strong) only because of the superior numerical strength of the enemy. As our Spanish provinces have no traditional enemies, and are not liable to any hostile invasion, the need of the organization of native troops will not be as pressing as it has been in the reconquest of the upper Nile. But they must furnish their own protection, as well as their own support. And there is much encouragement in the Egyptian experience for those who undertake the new army administration.

The most recent work in Egypt has been centred in the Interior Department, where much has been accomplished. Although the last to be taken up in any country, it is the one most directly beneficial to the people. Methods of teaching the people to serve themselves have been much advanced in the various branches of this department. The Mudirs, or provincial governors, have been given larger powers in the direction of affairs under them, and at the same time charged with fuller responsibility to the home government. Under the Mudirs, the district governors (Mamurs), and under them again the village headmen (Omdehs), have all been advanced in power and in liability. Lord Cromer's oft-quoted theory of "English heads and Egyptian hands" comes nearer and nearer to full practice.

Perhaps the chief work in the Interior Department—certainly the one upon which most effort has been expended, is the police system. It has been one of the most obstinate parts of the old system to reform. There are now two classes of police—one appointed and controlled by the Ministry of the Interior in Cairo, and the other the reorganized body of village watchmen (ghaffirs), who serve under the direction of the Omdehs. The higher order serves under the pro-

vincial governor, and he is directly responsible for them to the ministry; but they are also under the supervision of travelling inspectors—all Englishmen. The force is recruited wholly of native men, and all of its local officers are native. After much hard work and many years given over to weeding out bad material as well as encouraging good, this force is now fairly effective. Ghaffirs are chosen from the able-bodied men in each village, all of whom are liable for service. They receive small pay under the direction of petty salaried officers. They are chiefly valuable in preventing the small feuds, and consequent raids, which used to prevail between neighboring villages.

Under the Interior Department the postal system has risen so in respectability that the last of the foreign post-offices, such as are still conducted in Turkey, have been withdrawn. Renovation of the hideous old Egyptian prisons has been carried on very vigorously. Reformatories have been established. Prison labor has been introduced by means of manual-training schools. In the restoration of the insane asylum modern methods have taken the place of mediævalism. The labor of sanitation, necessarily one wholly in English hands, has made progress which ten years ago could not have been hoped for. Not only in combating the plague brought from Mecca and the East generally, but in putting down epidemics of cholera and small-pox, the sanitary department under Rogers Pacha has made a fine standing for itself in the European medical world. Under its direction also the enormous work of supplying a complete drainage system for Cairo is to be carried out. Any one at all acquainted with Eastern cities can realize what an undertaking this is. Agriculture has come under the inspection of the government. An expert has been engaged, and an experimental farm established.

Education has made gratifying progress, even though the principle pursued has for its present end a few youths well educated for the public service rather than a wider distribution of primary instruction. Still each year sees the number of pupils increased, and an advance along the line of modern education from the middle-age programme of learning prevalent in all Moslem schools. The people themselves

have shown a remarkable interest, and demand more modern methods. Schools supported by native subscription have been opened both for boys and girls, European teachers engaged, and government inspection solicited. What may be taken as more indicative still of the new spirit abroad is the fact that the great El Azhar University at Cairo, the famous centre of all of Islam's scholastic theology, has applied for government teachers to teach secular subjects. The seed of reform has indeed spread, for it was among the followers of this great school that the most bitter opposition to the innovations of infidel foreigners used to be found. Even now the government can only afford a school fund of about \$500,000 annually, and spends this for the education of only about 11,000 future civil servants. Outside of this, 200,000 children attend the village schools, supported by local contributions and small grants made by the government to such of them as submit to government inspection, and teach a small amount of modern reading, writing, and arithmetic in addition to the old lessons in the Koran and sacred history.

The result of this work is seen in the requirement that all applicants for positions in the government service shall have passed certain examinations in the schools. The work of securing the best of public servants has thus been begun, where fifteen years ago only the worst were available and little discrimination possible.

It has only been possible to mention many of the branches of work entered upon in Egypt, to show seekers after information where it could be found. In all of these branches of improved public service there is much to be learned by those who in the future will have similar enterprises to embark upon. Experience has been fruitful, as usual, and those who follow have a much easier task than the men who, like those in Egypt, have had to mark out the way. It has been my good fortune to know many of these men, and to have heard from them of the trials and difficulties with which their work has been beset. My obligations in the preparation of this paper are due to many, from the highest in rank to the lowest. They have been most kind in interest and advice. But the largest debt is due to Sir Alfred Milner; for from wherever one

obtains information on the subject, and however one writes it, still it must seem but a paraphrase of what he has told in his now standard book upon England in Egypt.

But aside from the usefulness of all this Anglo-Saxon experience from which the United States may profit, there is still another side to which the American mind will instinctively turn. Will it all pay? What shall we get out of it? The work is long; the road is tedious. Why should we take up such a burden if it is to be unprofitable? In the reward of the British in Egypt there is the fullest and most hopeful answer to this question. With immeasurably more at stake, they have made the venture a paying one. And the secret of their success is to be found in their old theory of full commercial freedom. In fact, the open door has added to rather than decreased British profits in Egyptian trade. For while the actual percentage of their share in the trade has diminished since the occupation, that trade has so increased in volume as to be of immense value. The fact that scrupulous impartiality has been shown has so assured and attracted foreign capital as to multiply two or three times the consuming and purchasing power of the country. And while she takes as much as three-fifths, perhaps three-fourths, of all Egypt produces, in the face of the most industrious rivalry British manufacturers also sell two-fifths of what Egypt consumes. There are many further advantages. The open door of trade and the promise of fair treatment induced foreign investors early to take more part in the commercial regeneration of the country than the British themselves. Although France has been the one power, politically, to hold out as long as possible against consenting to the presence of the English in Egypt, her business men have, on the other hand, been, up to this time, the most forward in taking advantage of the security which the occupation assured. This through a peculiar line of reasoning. Englishmen held back because their government has all along declined to declare its intention to remain. "If we invest our money," they said, "and the government should leave the place, we might lose everything under whoever succeeds." But the Frenchman reasoned: "As long as the British stay I am safe, and sure to be fairly treated. If they go away, why, France will

come, and again I shall be all right." So the Frenchman put his money in to the extent of hundreds of millions of pounds, and is rejoicing therefore. The great sugar interests, which are almost wholly in his hands, are wonderfully profitable. But because he is richer, although he has only come in strength within the last year or so, the Briton has speedily risen above all others in the amount he has invested in the Nile Valley. Within only the last few years, particularly since the reconquest of the Sudan, has Great Britain's determination to remain indefinitely become more and more evident. This has brought that country's capitalists in great numbers. The purchase of the Daira debt secures to them a large portion of old Ismail's vast estates. The National Bank of Egypt, a bank of issue, has been founded by British capital. The great dam and irrigation reservoir at Assuan is being built with two million pounds sterling.

England and France are not alone in the benefits accruing from the good government of Egypt. Statistics show a gain to Austria and Italy second only to the other two, and so large as to be astonishing. In fact, the good results of the maintenance of law and order and full commercial freedom in Egypt give the best condition of things obtainable for comparison with the situation of the Spanish provinces, where the governing power up to this time has been guided by almost opposite ideas and principles. If the protecting nation has the satisfaction of knowing that it is gaining its just share of the rewards of its tedious labor, there is also pleasure in seeing that others, all the world, have profited. And those avowals made at the beginning of the work, so often scoffed at and ridiculed, have been maintained. The pledge of humanitarianism has been redeemed. The promise of civilization has been fulfilled.

ISRAFEL.

"Whose heart-strings are a lute."

BY CHARLTON M. LEWIS.

"If I could dwell where Israfel
Hath dwelt . . ."—POE.

FOREVER chanting an untroubled song,
In realms of cold tranquillity he stands
Full-fronted to the Splendor. Not with hands
Are swept those angel lute-strings, but along
His heart the harmonies flow pure and strong,
And thrill with ecstasy the seraph bands
Star-clustered round him. In these lower lands,
Where pain and passion and the tale of wrong
Are never stilled, and even love's eyes are wet,
Rarely does some lost echo reach our ears,
From that high rapture wandering;—and yet,
Were I with Israfel beyond the spheres,
He still should hardly woo me to forget
The untuned cycles of these jarring years.